

## Message Text

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21

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 AID-05 IGA-02 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04

PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

DODE-00 /061 W

----- 083130

R 281030Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7553

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GABORONE 0131

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, BC, LT, WZ, SEDU

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR VIEWS ON NEW TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL  
PROGRAMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND ANAMIBIA

REF: STATE 004484

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. SUMMARY: PROPOSED PROGRAM IS PERHAPS RESPONSIVE TO  
HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS ARISING FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID  
SYSTEM. IT MAY HAVE SOME LONG-TERM SOCIAL BENEFITS. WE SEE  
SEVERAL IMMEDIATE POLITICAL RISKS WHICH MAY OUTWEIGH ADVANTAGES.  
IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR MANY TO UNDERSTAND WHY U.S. PROVIDING  
AID TO SOUTH AFRICANS AND SHOULDERING A BURDEN WHICH SHOULD BE  
BORNE BY THE SAG. IF PROGRAM IS PURSUED, EVERY PRECAUTION  
SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ELIMINATE AS MANY RISKS AS POSSIBLE. END  
SUMMARY.

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2. WE ASSUME BULK OF THE AID FUNDS UNDER CONSIDERATION ARE

INTENDED TO BENEFIT NON-WHITES ACTUALLY RESIDENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA. THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM ARE OBVIOUS; THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY LARGE NUMBERS OF NON-WHITES WHO NEED AND WOULD BENEFIT FROM TRAINING AND EDUCATION PROVIDED UNDER THE PROPOSED AID PROGRAM. IN FACT, NEED FAR EXCEEDS RELATIVELY MODEST AMOUNT MENTIONED REFTEL; U.S. PROBABLY WOULD RECEIVE SOME RECOGNITION FROM NON-WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA FOR HUMANITARIAN GESTURE. PROGRAM MIGHT ENHANCE OUR ACCESS TO ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL NON-WHITE LEADERS. IT COULD BE TIED TO OUR POLICY OF ENCOURAGING AMERICAN FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF THEIR NON-WHITE WORKERS. IF THE PROGRAM IS ACCEPTED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, IT COULD CONCEIVABLY BE USED AS LEVERAGE TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO ADOPT MORE ENLIGHTENED EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES.

3. PROPOSAL HAS SEVERAL NEGATIVE ASPECTS. MANY AFRICAN STATES WILL NOT UNDERSTAND WHY U.S. IS EXTENDING AID TO SOUTH AFRICA AND CARRYING A BURDEN THAT SHOULD BE BORNE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT A DEVELOPING COUNTRY; IT HAS A PER CAPITA INCOME OF MORE THAN \$1,250 AND IS FULLY CAPABLE OF PROVIDING \$330,000 TO TRAIN ITS OWN LABOR LEADERS. SOUTH AFRICA'S NEED IS NOT AID OR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BUT THE POLITICAL WILL TO ELIMINATE THE OPPRESSIVE APARTHEID SYSTEM. PROGRAM MIGHT BURDEN RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES AS SOME AFRICANS WOULD ARGUE WE ARE PROVIDING AID TO STRENGTHEN SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF APARTHEID AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. BLS GOVERNMENTS IN PARTICULAR MIGHT VIEW PROGRAM AS FIRST STEP TOWARD U.S. RECOGNITION OR ASSISTANCE TO HOMELANDS, IN WHICH CASE THEY WOULD BE ALARMED.

4. IF THE PROGRAM IS TO BENEFIT NON-WHITES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SEEK APPROVAL OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN GIVEN THE RECENT SWING TO THE RIGHT IN CABINET APPOINTMENTS. IF SOUTH AFRICA APPROVED THE PROGRAM IT WOULD INCREASE THE RISK OF CHARGES OF U.S./SOUTH AFRICAN AID COOPERATION; NON-WHITE BENEFICIARIES ARE LIKELY TO BE SEEN AS STOOGES. IF SCHOLARSHIPS PROVIDED UNDER THE PROGRAM ARE TO BE USED OVERSEAS, THERE IS RISK THAT MANY BENEFICIARIES WOULD NOT RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA OR NAMIBIA GIVEN THE PREVAILING RACIAL OPPRESSION. THIS WOULD BE ESPECIALLY TRUE  
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TO THE EXTENT THAT BENEFICIARIES ARE ACTIVELY OPPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICIES.

5. IF THE PARTICIPANTS IN PROGRAM ARE TO BE NON-RESIDENT SOUTH AFRICANS AND NAMIBIANS, THE OBJECTIONS RAISED IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS ARE NOT PERTINENT. HOWEVER, IN THAT CASE, I.E., IF BENEFITS ARE TO GO TO SOUTH AFRICAN AND NAMIBIAN REFUGEES, THE PROGRAM IS LIKELY TO BE AS LARGE A FAILURE AS SASP.

6. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM OUTWIGH THE POSITIVE. WE REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT A CONVICTION IS HELD BY MANY INTERESTED AMERICANS THAT WE SHOULD DO SOMETHING TO HELP THE DISENFRANCHISED NON-WHITE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA. IF THE PROGRAM IS TO BE PURSUED, WE URGE EVERY PRECAUTION TO AVOID THE RISK OUTLINED ABOVE. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD OSARAC BE INVOLVED IN ADMINISTERING THE PROGRAM. IN THIS CONNECTION WE CONCUR IN PRETORIA'S SUGGESTION THAT AID, IF ANY, SHOULD BE CHanneLED THROUGH PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE AFL/CIO, AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER OR FORD FOUNDATION.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** EDUCATION, TEACHER TRAINING  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976GABORO00131  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760033-1246  
**From:** GABORONE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760115/aaaaamgl.tel  
**Line Count:** 128  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 4484  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23 JUN 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <13 OCT 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** REQUEST FOR VIEWS ON NEW TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND ANAMIBIA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SEDU, SF, BC, LT, WZ  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006